

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

EXDIS FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN THRU HABIB

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, CY, US

SUBJECT:BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - YOUR MEETING WITH DIRECTOR
GENERAL OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY
JOHN TZOUNIS - THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23

1. PARTICIPANTS: US - TH SECRETARY. GREECE - DIRECTOR
GENERAL OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS JOHN TZOUNIS.

2. CHECKLIST:

-- GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS - STRESS NEED FOR EARLY CONCLU-
SION OF BASE NEGOTIATIONS.

-- AEGEAN PROBLEMS - STATE OUR PLEASURE OVER GREEK RESTRAINT
ON THIS ISSUE. ENCOURAGE EARLY NEGOTIATIONS COVERING ALL
ASPECTS OF THE AEGEAN QUESTION.

-- CYPRUS - EXPRESS OUR HOPE THAT UPCOMING UNGA CYPRUS
DEBATE IS NOT DISRUPTIVE TO EFFORTS TO REVITALIZE CYPRUS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

NEGOTIATIONS.

-- PERSHING FUROR - TELL TZOUNIS THAT WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY REDEPLOYMENT OF MISSILE EQUIPPED UNITS BY TURKEY.

3. SETTING: JOHN TZOUNIS, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY, WILL BE ON HAND SEPTEMBER 23 WHEN YOUR PLANE MAKES A REFUELING STOP IN SOUDA BAY. FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS WAS PREVENTED FROM MEETING YOU IN SOUDA BAY BECAUSE OF LAST MINUTE PREPARATIONS FOR HIS TRIP TO NEW YORK. YOU LAST SAW TZOUNIS WHEN YOU STOPPED IN SOUDA BAY ON MAY 6.

4. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS:

(1) GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS

ALTHOUGH WORK ON THE BASIC DCA TEXT AND COMMAND AND CONTROL AND SOFA DOCUMENTS IS VIRTUALLY COMPLETED AND THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS IN THE LATEST ROUND OF TALKS, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES WHICH HAVE THE POTENTIAL FOR DRAGGING OUT THE GREEK BASE NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD. FOREMOST AMONG THESE VEXING ISSUES ARE THE INTELLIGENCE ARRANGEMENTS AND THE GREEK DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A PARALLEL COMMUNICATIONS FACILITY AT NEA MAKRI AND A DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM OF THEIR OWN. IN THESE COMPLEX AREAS, DETAILED COST STUDIES AND POSSIBLE SITE SURVEYS COULD TAKE MANY MORE WEEKS TO COMPLETE AND HOLD UP THE ENTIRE PACKAGE.

(FYI: THE SOUDA APPENDIX IS NEARING COMPLETION. OUR EFFORTS TO GAIN LIMITED USE OF SOUDA BY TACTICAL AIRCRAFT HAVE BEEN RESISTED BY THE GREEKS. WE ARE STILL ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT LANGUAGE TO PERMIT A PERIODIC REVIEW OF LEVELS OF UTILIZATION SO THAT WE MAY REINTRODUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF TACTICAL USE AT A LATER TIME. END FYI)

IN RECENT DAYS, AMBASSADOR KUBISCH HAS REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE TALKS WITH KEY GREEK OFFICIALS, INCLUDING BITSIOS AND DEFENSE MINISTER AVEROFF. WHILE STOPPING SHORT OF CONCLUDING THAT THE GREEKS ARE FOOT DRAGGING, KUBISCH SAID
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

THE MOMENT OF TRUTH WAS AT HAND. HE TOLD BITSIOS AND AVEROFF THAT WE HAVE REACHED THE LIMIT OF OUR FLEXIBILITY. THUS GREECE HAD TO MAKE A FUNDAMENTAL DECISION; CONCLUDE THE TALKS NOW OR FACE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE WHOLE PROCESS WOULD HAVE TO BE SET ASIDE FOR SOME MONTHS. HE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT SHOULD THE LATTER OCCUR, IT WOULD IN NO WAY BENEFIT THE GREEK SIDE. KUBISCH BELIEVES THE GREEK SIDE HAS RECEIVED THE MESSAGE AND THAT AT LEAST AVEROFF

AND BITSIOS FEEL THE NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE WRAPPED UP BY THE
END OF THE MONTH. HOWEVER, WE HAVE RECEIVED SIMILAR
INDICATIONS IN THE PAST WITH LITTLE NOTICEABLE IMPACT ON
THE PACE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, MEETINGS
ARE CONTINUING ON A DAILY BASIS IN ATHENS. ADDITIONALLY,

WE ARE CONDUCTING A FRESH REVIEW OF ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES
TO DETERMINE IF THERE ARE AREAS WHERE WE CAN AFFORD TO
BE MORE FLEXIBLE.

TALKING POINTS

-- IT IS OUR FEELING THAT THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE REACHED
THE POINT WHERE THE REMAINING OUTSTANDING ISSUES CAN BE
RESOLVED AND AN AGREEMENT PROMPTLY REACHED.

-- PROLONGING THE TALKS WILL NOT WORK TO THE BENEFIT OF
EITHER SIDE; RATHER IT SEEMS THAT THE PASSAGE OF TIME WILL
ADVERSELY EFFECT THE TYPE OF AGREEMENT WHICH WE BOTH
AGREE WILL SERVE THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

-- AMBASSADOR KUBISCH HAS RECENTLY HIGHLIGHTED THE REMAIN-
ING ISSUES IN DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY GREEK LEADERS. WE FEEL
WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY IN THESE AREAS AND
HAVE REACHED THE POINT WHERE THERE IS VERY LITTLE ROOM FOR
FURTHER GIVE.

-- I BELIEVE IT IS IN YOUR INTEREST TO EXAMINE THE REMAIN-
ING ISSUES AND TO MAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS TO ACHIEVE
AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF TALKS.

-- IN ORDER TO INITIAL AN AGREEMENT IN A TIMELY FASHION,
IT MAY WELL BE NECESSARY TO WORK OUT SOME OF THE DETAILS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

OF OUR INTELLIGENCE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS COOPERATION
SUBSEQUENT TO INITIALING OF THE DCA.

-- IF THIS COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED, THE GREEK SIDE CAN BE
ASSURED THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO BE
COMPLETELY RESPONSIVE TO GREEK NEEDS IN THESE AREAS.

-- THE ALTERNATIVE, WHICH WE DO NOT PREFER, WOULD BE TO
RECESS UNTIL THE DETAILED AND TIME-CONSUMING PREPARATIONS
IN THESE AREAS CAN BE ADEQUATELY AND SATISFACTORILY WORKED
OUT.

(2) THE AEGEAN

BOTH BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL HAVE INDICATED A WILLINGNESS

TO GET TOGETHER ON THE FRINGES OF THE UNGA TO DISCUSS
AEGEAN ISSUES, BUT A MEETING HAS NOT BEEN DEFINITELY SCHED-
ULED AS OF YET BECAUSE NEITHER SIDE SEEMS WILLING TO TAKE
THE FIRST STEP IN SCHEDULING IT. IT IS STILL UNCERTAIN
WHETHER THE TURKISH SIDE WILL INSIST THAT GREECE WITHDRAW
ITS REQUEST FOR A HAGUE COURT RULING ON THE CONTINENTAL
SHELF ISSUE. (BITSIOS HAS TOLD KUBISCH THAT GREECE WOULD

BE PREPARED TO SUSPEND BUT NOT TO WITHDRAW ITS SUBMISSION
TO THE COURT.) THE SEPTEMBER 25 DATE FOR THE TERMINATION
OF THE SISMIC ACTIVITIES MIGHT PROVIDE THE IMPETUS TO GET
THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED. WE HAVE HAD NO FURTHER
APPROACHES FROM THE GREEKS ON THE SISMIC'S ITINERARY.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE HAVE NOTED GREECE'S RESTRAINT IN DEALING WITH THE
LATEST ACTIVITIES OF THE SISMIC.

-- WE HOPE BOTH SIDES WILL EMBARK SOON ON NEGOTIATIONS OF
THE COMPLEX AEGEAN ISSUES AND THAT A SUSTAINED DIALOGUE
CAN BE ACHIEVED.

(3) CYPRUS

ONAN AND PAPADOPOULOUS HAD A SECOND MEETING IN NEW YORK
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

ON SEPTEMBER 21. WE ARE TOLD THAT THE MEETINGS WERE ALMOST
ENTIRELY DEVOID OF SUBSTANCE BUT THAT THE TWO NEGOTIATORS
CONDUCTED THEIR DISCUSSIONS IN A CORDIAL AND FRIENDLY
MANNER. A COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED FOLLOWING THE MEETING
INDICATING THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO CONTINUE FURTHER
CONSULTATIONS IN NICOSIA UNDER THE AEGIS OF WALDHEIM'S
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, PEREZ DE CUELLAR.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE WERE PLEASED THAT THE GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT
REPRESENTATIVES HAVE HELD MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND THAT
THEY HAVE INDICATED THEIR INTENTION TO CONTINUE THEIR
DIALOGUE IN NICOSIA.

-- WE HOPE THAT THE DISCUSSION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE AT THE
UPCOMING UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY CAN BE CONDUCTED IN A NON-
CONTENTIOUS FASHION SO THAT IT WILL NOT BE DISRUPTIVE TO
EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINED CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS.

-- WHAT IDEAS DOES THE GREEK SIDE HAVE TO GET SUCH NEO-
TIATIONS GOING? (NOTE: WE HAVE NOT YET RAISED THE IDEA

OF AGREED PRINCIPLES IN ANY WAY WITH EITHER GREECE OR
TURKEY.)

(4) PERSHING MISSILES

DURING A SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARING ON THE
TURKISH DCA ON SEPTEMBER 15, SENATOR PELL CHARGED THAT
TURKEY HAD DEPLOYED PERSHING MISSILES OPPOSITE THE GREEK
AEGEAN ISLANDS. BOB ELLSWORTH IMMEDIATELY DENIED THIS,

SAYING THERE WERE NO PERSHING IN TURKEY, BUT THE STORY
OF US SUPPLIED MISSILES BEING MOVED TO THIS AREA HAS SPREAD
LIKE WILD FIRE THROUGHOUT GREECE AND RESULTED IN RENEWED
GREEK PUBLIC OUTRAGE OVER THE ENTIRE AEGEAN QUESTION. OUR
INVESTIGATION INTO THIS CHARGE HAS LED US TO CONCLUDE THAT
THERE HAS BEEN NO REDEPLOYMENT OF MISSILE-EQUIPPED UNITS
IN TURKEY. SENATOR PELL HAS BACKED OFF SOMEWHAT ON THE
MISSILE CHARGE IN A FOLLOW UP LETTER TO ELLSWORTH AND WE
ARE TRYING TO PERSUADE HIM TO TAKE SOME PUBLIC STEP TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 234481 TOSEC 270512

REDUCE THE DAMAGE CREATED BY HIS STATEMENT.

TALKING POINTS (IF RAISED)

-- WE ARE AWARE OF NO REDEPLOYMENT OF MISSILE EQUIPPED UNITS
IN TURKEY.

-- WE HOPE THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO
CLEAR UP THIS PUBLIC MISCONCEPTION.

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